Constitution which were inconsistent with the stern logic of equality that pervaded all its other parts, and pervaded the whole of the Declaration of American Independence, on which the Constitution itself was based. We are not to censure the fathers for these concessions; they had a union of the States to create, and to their ardent and generous minds the voluntary removal of Slavery, by the action of the several States themselves, without Federal interference, seemed not only certain, but close at hand.

These provisions of the Constitution were: That the foreign slave trade should not be abolished before 1808.

Second: That any law or regulation which any State might establish in favor of Freedom, should not impair the legal remedy, then sup-posed to exist by common law, for the recapture, by legal process, in such State, of fugitives from labor or service, escaping from other Third: That three fifths of all slaves should

be counted, in settling the basis of representation in the several States.

These three concessions, which in themselves seem very limited, and almost harmless, are all that the fathers consciously made to the privileged class.

to improve even any indirect advantages which the Constitution or laws of a country afford. Such indirect advantages they acquired from two other provisions of the Constitution: 1st. That provision which makes the State authority independent and sovereign in municipal affairs, Slavery being understood to be purely municipal in its nature. 2d. That provision which, out of tenderness to the small States, gives them a representation in the Senate equal to that of the largest State. Freedom builds great States; Slavery multiplies small States, and even dwarfs great ones. Thus we see that the American slaveholder

are a privileged class, standing on a special and

permanent foundation, and that they are pro-tected in their advantages by the organic laws. I might show a priori that a privileged class, thus established on an exceptional principle, that is wrong in itself, and antagonistic to the fundamental principle of the Government, must necessarily be dangerous if it be suffered to expand and aggrandize itself. But, unhappily, we are not left to the necessity of resorting to speculation on that subject. The policy of eman-cipation was set back in this country during the reaction against revolutionary principles, which necessarily attended the reorganization of Government; and it was set back still more effectually by the consternation which followed the disastrous failure of the first republic in France. The privileged class promptly availed themselves of the advantages which the Constitution afforded, to fortify themselves in the Federal Government. The last Federal acts directed against the privileged class were, the abolition of the foreign slave trade after 1808, and the eternal prohibition of Slavery in the broad and then unsettled region which extends from the north bank of the Ohio to the eastern shore of the Mississippi. Even the passage of that ordinance was, by its silence, assumed to imply a right on the part of the privileged class

to colonize with slaves the region lying south

of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. Unlooked-for events have lent to the privilege class advantages which have more than counterbalanced the adverse effects of this early national legislation. The invention of the cotton gin, which easily separates the seed from the fibre, has made cotton an almost exclusive agricultural staple in the States of the privileged class, and an eminent commercial staple of the whole country. The national territory has necessarily been enlarged, from time to time, to accommodate an overgrowing population and an ever-increasing commerce. Favored by these circumstances, the privileged class have at the same time found, in a home production of slaves in Maryland and Virginia and other ful in unlearning all the fears and dismissing all the timidity and conciliation which marked revolutionary war. The admission of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama, as slaveholding States, into the Union, seemed unthus these new States south of the Ohio, balanserved as a sort of balance between the priv ileged and the unprivileged classes, which

first final partition of the unsettled territory of the United State: between those classes. In 1804, France ceded to the United States of the Mississippi, from the British possessions on the north, to the Spanish province of Texas on the south. This acquisition, which was and for the uses of commerce, stimulated the of their territory and an aggrandizement of their power. New Orleans, situated practical-Union, with its ancient laws and customs toldemanded, that the Ordinance of 1787 should be extended across the Mississippi. The privileged class, however, took possession of the re-gion around St. Louis, and made partial settlesissippi. St. Louis and its environs matured as a State in 1819, and demanded admission with Slavery into the Union. Then, only thirtyof 1787, and after its unanimous ratification by the American people, the privileged class made common cause with the new slaveholding State, and, assuming a tone at once bold, insolent, and although in the Territories it was supreme and exclusive, and equally supreme and exclusive in the admission of new States, to legislate at since that time. They were met, however, with should prohibit Slavery forever in all the residue of that part of the Louisiana purchase which lay north of the parallel of 36° 30' of left by implication to Slavery. This compro-mise was accepted, and thus diplomacy obtain-ed for the privileged class immediate advantaautual equivalents between the privileged class it to be a contract proper to be submitted to the people themselves, for their ratification, in the popular elections. It was so submitted to the people, and so ratified by them. By virtue of this compromise, Missouri came immediate-ly into the Union as a slave State, and Arkanfollowed soon afterward as a slave State,

while, with the exception of Missouri, the com-

Freedom, was artfully postponed indefinitely, by dedicating it as a home for the concentrated ut perishing Indian tribes. It sounds in favor of the humanity of the unprivileged class, if not of their prudence, that they neither remonstra-ted nor complained of that dedication.

The success of the privileged class, in securing to themselves immediate possession of Missouri and Arkansas, in exchange for the reversionary interest of the unprivileged class in remainder of the Louisiana purchase, stimulated them to move for new national pur-chases of domain, which might yield them further acquisitions. Spain was unable to retain longer the slaveholding provinces of East Florida and West Florida, which lay adjacent to the slave States. They fell to the United States by an easy purchase, and the privileged class with the dillegence precured their organization. with due diligence procured their organization as a State, and its admission into the Union. The spell of territorial aggrandizement had fallen on the United States of America, and simultaneously the spell of dissolution had fallen on the United States of Mexico. The privleged class on our side of the border entered exas, established Slavery there in violation of Mexican laws, detached that territory from Mexico, and organized it as an independent sovereign State. Texas, thus independent and overeign, sought annexation to the United States. In the very hour when the virtue of a sufficient number of the unprivileged classes was giving way to effect a constitutional annexation of Texas, the President of the United States, with a Senate not less subservient to the privileged class, executed a coup d'etat by which hat State unlawfully, and in defiance of all precedent, came into the Union under a coveant stipulating that four new slave States might be created out of its territory and admit-ted as slave States, while, by a solemn mockery, an inconsiderable fragment that lay north 36° 30' was ostentatiously dedicated to Freelom. There remained no other new territory within the United States; and so, by this strange partition of Texas, there was a third final setlement of the pretensions of the privileged class; and it was acquiesced in by the unprivdeged class, who thought themselves secure in the old Northwest Territory by the Ordinance of 1787, and equally safe in Kansas and Ne-

oraska by the Missouri Compromise. The public repose that followed the annexaon of Texas was of short duration. Mexico esented that offence. A war ensued, and ter-ninated in the transfer of the entire northern ocrtion of Mexico to the United States. The Mexican municipal laws forbade Slavery everywhere, and the new possessions were under that law. Not a whit the less, for that reason, did the privileged class demand either an equal parti-tion, or that the whole should be opened to their colonization with slaves. The House of Repre-sentatives resisted these pretensions, as it had resisted similar ones before; but the Senate seconded the privileged class with its accustomed zeal. So Congress was divided, and failed to organize civil Governments for the newly acquired Mexican territories, and they were left und martial law. The question raised by the privileged class went down to the electors. The people promptly filled the House of Representatives with a majority sternly opposed to the ex-tension of Slavery the breadth of a single square mile. They increased the force of the unprivileged class in the Senate, while they called to he Presidency General Taylor, who, although nimself a slaveholder, was committed to nonintervention on the question in Congress, and to execute faithfully whatever constitutional laws Congress should adopt. Under these circumstances, California and New Mexico, youthful lass of its political organs, hastened to establish Constitutions, and apply for admission as free States; while the eccentric population of qually in matters of religion and of politics, prayed to be received into the Union as a State or as a Territory, and with or without Slavery, as Congress should prescribe. The privileged class remonstrated, and a seditious movement was organized in their behalf in the slaveholding States, to overawe Congress, if possible, and to inaugurate revolution if their menaces failed. You all know well the way of that memorable

The change, that has become at last so projected and tendered to the privileged class a new compromise, modeled after the already time-honored compromise of 1820. You all know how firmly, notwithstanding this defection of leaders honored and beloved, the House of Representatives, and even the Senate, repelled ed class of freemen throughout the Union demission of California into the Union, and refused to allot any further territories to the privileged class, for the extension of the system of human bondage. You all remember, too, how in and how the hearts of Congress and of all the people sorrowed at his grave, and thenceforward al successor of that lamented President with ominous haste accepted the resignation of his Cabinet, and committed the seals to a new one, pledged like himself to the adoption of the compledged like himself to the adoption of the complex pledged like himself to the adoption of t promise which the people had condemned; and United States is equally within your power, if thus soon forgotten the terms of that compro-mise, the fourth final and everlasting settlement not forgotten how the Ordinance of 1787, which excluded Slavery from the region northwest of the Ohio, was left to stand, as an institution too sacred to be even questioned. How the Missouri Compromise, which extended that Ordinance in Compromise, which extended that Ordinance wanted? Organization! Organization! Nothing across the Mississippi, and over all Kansas and but organization. Nebraska, was made at once the authority, pre-cedent, and formula, of the new compromise, and even declared to be an irrepealable law forever. How California, which refused to become a slave State, was grudgingly admitted into the Union as a free one. How the hateful and de-testable slave auctions were banished from un-

Union as a free one. How the hateful and detestable slave auctions were banished from under the eaves of the Capitol, quite across to the opposite bank of the Potomac river. And how, in consideration of these magnanimous and vast concessions made by the privileged class, it was stipulated that Slavery should be continued in the District of Columbia as long as the privileged class where ever a revolution that was equally successful at all times and everywhere? Certainly not. Do you say that you cannot abolish Slavery in the privileged States? We have no need, no purpose, no constitutional power, no duty, to do so. Providence has devolved that duty on others, and the organic law leaves it wisely to them. We have power to the Union, and that is enough. Do you Mexico, with her free Constitution, was super-ciliously remanded to her native mountains, while, without a hearing, her ancient and free millions of dollars, to win its acceptance by that defiant privileged State. You remember how it was solemnly stipulated that Utah and New Mexico, if the slaveholders could corrupt them, should come into the Union, in due time, as slaveholding States; and, finally, how the privileged class, so highly offended and exasperated, were brought to accept this compromise on tion of the revolting features of an attempted suspension of the habeas corpus; an absolute prohibition of the trial by jury; an effective repeal of vital rules of procedure and evidence, and the substitution of commissioners in place of courts of justice, in derogation of the Constitution. You all remember how laboriously and ostentatiously this compromise was associated with the time-honored forms and solemuities of the Missouri Compromise; how it was declared, not the result of mere ordinary legislation, but

a contract, with mutual equivalents, by the privileged with the unprivileged classes, irrepealable and even unamendable without perfidy and even treason against the Constitution and the ing your protests and mine, it was urgently, violently, clamorously ratified and confirmed, as a full, fair, final, and perpetual adjustment, by the two great political conventions of the country, representing the whole people of the United States, assembled at Baltimore in 1852; and how the heroic and generous Scott was rejected, to bring into the Presidence remains the second states.

and establish it forever.

The occupation of the new region west of the Mississippi, which had thus been saved for of the government of Kansas by the slaveholders of Missouri, nor even on the barbarous and tyrannical code which they have established to stifle Freedom in that Territory, nor even yet on the fraudulent and nefarious connivance of the President with the usurpers. Nor will I draw into this picture, already too darkly shaded, the personal humiliations which daily come home to yourselves in the conduct of your own affairs. You are commanded by an unconstitutional law f Congress to seize and deliver up to the members of that privileged class their fugitive slaves, under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of your estates. You may not interpose between the armed slaveholder and the wounded slave, to prevent his being murdered, without coming der arrest for treason, nor may you cover his naked and lacerated limbs except by stealth. You have fought twenty years, and with but partial success, for the constitutional right to lay your remonstrances on the table of Congress. You may not tell the freed slave who reaches your borders that he is free, without being seized by a Federal Court, and condemne without a trial or even an accusation, to an imprisonment without bail or mainprize, and without limitation of sentence. Your representatives in either House of Congress must speak with bated breath and humble countenance in presence of the representatives of the privileged class, lest justice be denied to your old soldiers when they claim their pensions, or to your laborers when they claim the performance of their ontracts with the Government. The President of the United States is reduced to the position of a deputy of the privileged class, emptying the treasury and marshalling battalions and ships of war to dragoon you into the execution the Fugitive Slave Law on the one hand while he removes Governors and Judges, at their command, who attempt to maintain lawful and onstitutional resistance against them in the Cernitory of Kansas. The Vice President of the United States and the Speaker of the House of Representatives are safe men, whom the privieged class can trust in every case. The care of the judiciary of the Territories, and even of he foreign relations, is intrusted in either House o assured supporters of that class. Protection is denied to your wool, while it is freely given to the slaveholder's sugar. Millions of acres of the public domain are freely given to Alabama, for railroads, and even as gratuities, while not a dollar can be obtained to remove the rocks of Hell Gate and the sands of the Overslaugh, or the bars in Lake St. Clair or in the mouths of our Lake harbors. Canada, lying all along our northern borders, must not even be looked ipon, lest you may lust after it, while millions ipon millions are lavished in war and diplomacy annex and spread Slavery over Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Mexico, Cuba, and Central America. Your liberty of speech, where is it? You may not, without severe rebuke, speak of despotism in foreign lands, lest the slave overhear you on the plantations of the privileged class, or the foreign despot visit them, in retaliation for your unavailing sympathy. The na-tional flag, the emblem of universal liberty, covers cargoes of slaves not only in your own riew, but flaunts defiance over them in foreign ports. Judges of the United States Courts, safe inder the protection of the President and the Senate, charge grand juries, in advance of any nestion, that obnoxious and unequal Federal ws are constitutional and obligatory; they ive counsel to legislative bodies how to frame aws which they will sustain, instead of waiting to review those laws when enacted. They even convert the writ of Freedom to an engine of ing irregularities committed in their presence into the machinery of a tyranny as odious as into the machinery of a tyranny as odious as that of the Star Chamber. The privileged class Such true Democrats and true Whigs are now n retaliation for the independence of your ex-

> traffic in slaves from your own borders.
>
> I will only ask, in concluding this humiliating rehearsal, whether there is not in this favored not growing stronger and stronger, while the unprivileged class grows weaker and weaker; whether its further growth and extent would not be, not merely detrimental, but dangerous: and and extension hereafter, if the attempt shall not

necessary, is as easy to be made as it is necessary. The whole number of slaveholders is only three hundred and fifty thousand, one-hundredth part of the entire population of the country. If you add their parents, children, immediate relatives and dependents, they are two millions—one fifteenth part of the American people. Slavery is not, and never can be, perpetual. It will be overthrown either peacefully and lawsubversion of the Constitution, together with its own overthrow. Then the slaveholders would perish in the struggle. The change can now be made without violence, and by the agenis just, liberal, forbearing. It will contribute any money and endure any sacrifices to effect wrong that has been done, not another slave State can now come into the Union. Make only one year's constant, decisive effort, and you can determine what States shall be ad-

The will exists, because the evil has become

tain the revolution, so auspiciously begun, with-out organization? Certainly not. Are you apprehensive of failure, because the revolution of the Union, and that is enough. Do you doubt that power? Did not the statesmen of 1787 know the bounds of constitutional power? Somebody has municipal power in the unorgan-ized Territories in the Union. Who is it? It is not any foreign State; it is not any of the American States; it is not the people in the Territories. It is the Congress of the whole United States, and their power there is supreme. Are you afraid that the privileged class will not submit? The privileged class that submit? The privileged class are human, and they are wise. They know just as well how to submit to just authority, firmly and constitutionthe privileged class live without a union any better than you can? They would not remain and wrangle with you an hour, if they could do so. Can they ever hope to obtain another Union so favorable to them as this one, if this should be overthrown? Will they destroy themselves, that they may simply do harm to you? Did ever any privileged class commit such an absurd suicide as this? Are you alone the keepers of the Union? Have not the privileged ers of the Union? Have not the privileged class interests as great to maintain in the it different from your own?

How shall we organize? The evil is a national one. The power and the influence and the organization of the privileged class pervade all parts of the Union. It knows no North, no South, no East, no West. It is stronger to-day on the bay of San Francisco, surrounded by freemen, than it is on Chesapeake bay, surrounded by slaves. It is not a sectional but a national contest on which we have entered national contest on which we have entered. Our organization, therefore, must be a national to bring into the Presidency one who might more safely be trusted to defend and preserve must restore the demoralized virtue of the name o

ciples, its purposes, and its objects-in fear of | lude to "moneyed associations under the pat- ence to us. All we know is, that they want to

one. Let us try existing parties by this test. Shall we take the Know Nothing party, or the American party, as it now more ambitiously names itself? It is a purely sectional organization. In the privileged States, it scouts the principle of the equality of man, and justifies the unbounded claims of the privileged class.

1. To the charge of "recruiting armies and In the unprivileged States, it stifles its voice and hiring fanatics to go to Kansas," our answer is suppresses your own free speech, lest it may be overheard beyond the Potomac. In the there, or paid the passage of a single emigrant. We have never privileged States, it justifies all the wrongs committed against you. In the unprivileged pices has himself provided the means for his States, it affects to condemn them, but protests | passage. that they shall not be redressed. I speak not now of its false and prevaricating rituals, its unlawful and unchristian oaths, its clandestine emigration from New England to the new States councils and its dark conspiracies, its mobs and its murders, proscribing and slaying men for their conscience' sake and for the sake of their nativity. I have spoken of them often enough and freely enough heretofore. I say now only that all these equally unfit this socalled American party for any national duty, and qualify it to be, what it has thus far been, an auxiliary Swiss corps, engaging the friends of Freedom in premature skirmishes at one time, and decoying them into ambushes prepared by their enemies at another. Let it pass by. Shall we unite ourselves to the Democratic party? If so, to which section or faction? The

Hards, who are so stern in defending the aggressions of the privileged class, and in rebugressions of the privileged class, and in redu-king the Administration through whose agency they are committed? or the Softs, that protest against these aggressions, while they sustain and invigorate that Administration? Shall we suppose the Democratic party reunited and consolidated? What is it, then, but the same party which has led in the commission of all these aggressions, save one, and which urged, counselled, and co-operated in that, and claims exclusively the political benefits resulting from it? Let the Democratic party pass.

Shall we report ourselves the Whig party? Where is it? Gentle shehperd, tell me where?

Four years ago, it was a strong and vigorous party, honorable for energy, noble achievements, and still more for noble enterprises. In 1852, it was united and consolidated, and moved by panic and fears to emulate the Democratic party in its practiced subserviency to the privileged strances and mine. The privileged class, who had debauched it, abandoned it, because they knew that it could not vie with its rival in the humiliating service it proffered them; and now there is neither Whig party nor Whig south of

the Potomac.

How is it in the unprivileged States? Out of New York, the lovers of Freedom, disgusted with its prostitution, forsook it, and marched into any and every other organization. We have maintained it here, and in its purity, until the aid-ers and abettors of the privileged classes, in re-taliation, have wounded it on all sides, and it s now manifestly no longer able to maintain and carry forward, alone and unaided, the great revolution that it inaugurated. He is unfit for a statesman, although he may be a patriot, who will cling even to an honored and faithful association, when it is reduced so low in strength and numbers as to be entirely ineffectual amid the contests of great parties by which republics are saved. Any party, when reduced so low, must ultimately dwindle and dwarf into a mere faction. Let, then, the Whig party pass. It committed a grievous fault, and grievously hath it answered it. Let it march out of the

field, therefore, with all the honors. changes of parties and of men, and, so far as they are sound, they are necessarily the same. mon to both. Neither of these two classes can or ought to insist on forcing a defective organization, with a stained banner, upon the other.
The Republican organization has sagaciously seen this, and magnanimously laid a new, sound, and liberal platform, broad enough for both classes to stand upon. Its principles are equal and exact justice; its speech open, deci-ded, and frank. Its banner is untorn in former battles, and unsullied by past errors. That is the party for us. I do not know that it will always, or even long, preserve its courage, its moderation, and its consistency. If it shall do so, it will rescue and save the country. If it, too, shall become unfaithful, as all preceding and will give place to another truer and better

So long as the Republican party shall be firm and faithful to the Constitution, the Union, and the Rights of Man, I shall serve it, with the reservation of that personal independence which is my birthright, but at the same time with the zeal and devotion that patriotism allows and enjoins. I do not know, and personally I do not greatly care, that it shall work out its great bid them God-speed on their way. ends this year, or the next, or in my lifetime; because I know that those ends are ultimately sure, and that time and trial are the elements which make all great reformations sure and that I might leave my country somewhat wor-thier of a lofty destiny, and the rights of human nature somewhat sater. A reasonable ambition must always be satisfied with sincere and practical endeavors. If, among those who shall come after us, there shall be any curious inquirer who shall fall upon a name so obscure as mine, he shall be obliged to confess that, however unsuccessfully I labored for generous ends, yet that I nevertheless was one faithful of the confess that I nevertheless was one faithful of the confess that I nevertheless was one faithful of the confess that I nevertheless was one faithful of the confess that I nevertheless was one faithful of the confess that I nevertheless was one faithful of the confess that I nevertheless was one faithful of the confess that the confess that I nevertheless was one faithful of the confess that the conf yet that I nevertheless was ever faithful, ever

NEW ENGLAND EMIGRANT AID SOCIETY'S DEFENCE.

REPLY TO THE LEXINGTON CONVENTION.

We publish, at the request of one of the members, the circular of the Emigrant Aid Society of Massachusetts, to the people of Missouri. This document places that Society before the people of our State in a much more favorable light than it has heretofore been viewed. ed. It appears, from its statement, that the organization is not a political one—that it furnishes no money to any parties, nor procures any outfits for them. It simply supplies machinery to emigrants after they get to Kansas, so that they may be facilitated in their efforts to improve their own condition and advance the prosperity of the Territory. To this, no objection can certainly be taken; and we have only to regret that the Association did not at

an earlier period give the public information as to its real objects.

The recent address of the Lexington Convention has induced this appeal to the people of Missouri, the Society considering that body of too much importance in its influence to mistate their true characters. state their true character. The gentlemen among the most wealthy and influential in the State of Massachusetts. One of the Vice-Presidents, Mr. Williams, is a Virginian, whose releases dents, Mr. williams, is a virginian, whose reconcessions by terror from timid men. Can the privileged class live without a union any better than you can? They would not remain tionist. We understand that other members have never been connected with that party. It would be but an act of courtesy, on the part of those journals who have misrepresented the Aid Society, to give it the benefit of placing itself right before the reople of the South.

> To the Citizens of Missouri: Aid Company are desirous to correct some of the misrepresentations which have been sedu-lously circulated, in many of the public prints of your State, in regard to their plan and purposes. your State, in regard to their plan and purposes. So long as these misrepresentations were made by irresponsible and prejudiced persons, whose characters had no weight, we did not think them worthy of a reply from us. But when we find them repeated and endorsed by men of some influence in your community, we feel that it is due to ourselves and to the character of the emigrants who have gone out to Kansas under our auspices to state the truth.
>
> In the published resolutions of the Convention lately held in Lexington Missouri, we find

while, with the exception of Missouri, the compromise of 1787, by virtue of the same compromise, was extended across the Mississippi, along the parallel of 36° 30°, to the Rocky Mountains. Thus, and with such solemnities, was the strife of the privileged class of slave-holders for aggrandizement of territory finally composed and forever settled.

Method the exception of Missouri, the compromise of 1787, by virtue of the same compromise of 1820 and the declaration of congress, that all these settlements, so far as they were promise of 1820 and the ordinance of ganization—one that openly proclaims its principle of equality among the members of the State—the principle of equality among the members of the State—the principle of equality among the members of the State—the principle of the absolute and inherent in regard to our enterprise, which we desire to correct. This company is the only incorporated association, known to us, in the United States, which has for its object both assistance and organization. We must, therefore, infer that these settlements, so far as they were are referred to in the resolutions of the Convention. We must restore the demoralized virtue of the nation. We must restore the principle of equality among the members of the State—the principle of the sacredness of the Absolute and inherent which we desire to correct. This company is which we desire to correct. This company is the only incorporated association, known to us, in the United States, which has for its object both assistance and organization of ours. We want a bold, out-spoken, free-spoken or ganization—one that openly proclaims its principle of equality among the members of the State—the principle of the sacredness of the Absolute and inherent in regard to our enterprise, which was of the State—the principle of the sacredness of the Absolute and inherent in regard to our enterprise. You will observe that our plant is not only the component of the Compromise of 1820 and the control of the sacredness of the absolute and inherent in

The resolutions charge this company, then-I. With recruiting armies and hiring fanatics

o go to Kansas.
II. With fanatical aggression on Missouri, that answers to these conditions, if we can find one; if we cannot find one such, we must create dwellings and the knife to the throats of its would be men who meant to live in a free State

III. With sending persons to Kansas who do not intend to remain there, but who go only to interfere with and control the actual settlers.

they thought the permanent institutions of the interfere with and control the actual settlers.

State would make hard work disgraceful. They It is easy for us to show the entire falsehood of every one of these charges.

1. To the charge of "recruiting armies and

tion of a new home. The favorable accounts which reached

Territory. They resolved to go there, and were eager to obtain every information as to the best means of going and forming permanent settlements in that country.

The fact that such persons were willing to

go, rendered it possible to form this company, whose object is to facilitate their organization, render their journey easy and safe, and aid them with its capital, when there, by the erection of mills and hotels, and by the promotion of such other enterprises as are found conducive Kansas, but what are given us by the Constito the common good. We do not hire them. tution and the laws. We claim none which we No company on earth could hire them. It would be more proper to say that the existence of such men, and their resolution and intention of our company do not injure us. It is only to go to Kansas, created and sustains this to defend the character of our friends in Kan-

company.

To speak of such men as "paupers," " mer cenaries," and "hired adventurers," is simply absurd. They are American citizens, who have the enthusiasm which all their countrymen have for colonizing new regions, and bringing them under the sway of man.

They carry with them their education, their

skill, their money. They are erecting in Kansast their money. They are erecting in Kan-sas their steam engines, their machine shops, their factories of wood, paper, iron, and all things useful to men. They have gone there because they had a right there—because they choose to go—because they had the meters to go—and because they believed that in so doing they could better their condition, and perhaps do good service to God and man.

That they might go conveniently and cheapf the customs of New England for men to organize themselves to work in co-operation for any object which they can achieve thus better than as separate individuals. This is one of our institutions to which we are attached, and to

which we owe much of our prosperity.

2. The resolutions of the Convention Sharge us with "fanatical aggression on Missouri."
We have looked in vain for the first obtailed specification by which this charge can be supported. It is our earnest wish that the emigrants who go under our auspices shoul I main-tain the kindest and most friendly relations with all whom they meet on their way, whether in Missouri or any other State. We have every reason to believe that they have done so, and until some distinct case of "fanatical aggreso review those laws when enacted. They even convert the writ of Freedom to an engine of Slavery, and they pervert the power of punish-slavery, and they pervert the power of punish-slavery.

By the accidental conditions of travel at the ern emigrants pass up the Missouri river, on their way to their new homes. If this is a griev-Kansas more than four hundred miles. venture to say, however, that they have so borne this inconvenience as to give no serious ground dealings in your State. So soon as the rapid advance of the railroads in Iowa permits, they will be able to shorten the journey materially, and you may then be relieved from their presto take your steamboats up the river, and to provide themselves with supplies from your mer-

chants. misrepresentations of interested parties, that passage of emigrants from other Stress along their magnificent river as any grievatce at all. We believe in the brotherhood of all the States in this Union, and in the hospitality of the people of Missouri. We are confident they will cordially welcome travellers from New England

3. The remaining charge against us is, that jects, who are not bona fide settlers. The entire injustice of this charge will be evident from a simple statement of what we

have done and are doing for emigrants in Kanbased upon the presumption that they are to be and remain there as actual settlers.

Our first object is, to aid emigrants on their journey. This we do, not by paying for their

passage, but by purchasing tickets at wholesale, and furnishing them to individuals at the act-ual cost; by combining our parties so that friends and neighbors can travel together, by terest of rival railroads to carry them comfortably, safely, and cheaply. We thus reduce for the settler the cost of his journey, guard him against frauds, and bring him to Kansas with the utmost expedition.

On his arrival in a new country, the chief difficulty of a settler is the want of capital. This want is particularly felt in Kansas. One of the resolutions of the Lexington Convention expresses regret that the settling of Kansas was not left to lonely pioneers, like those who set-tled Ohio and Indiana. We refer you to the letter of General B. F. Stringfellow to Messrs. Clingman, Brooks, and others, for the opinion on this point of one who knows that country.

General Stringfellow assures those gentlemen that such a settlement is impossible; that such pioneers as have hitherto levelled the forests

not do the same work in Kansas. His letter shows that such laborers need the resources of capital, and that capital may well be embarked in assisting them, to the mutual benefit of emigrants from New England intended to move in large numbers to Kansas, it became clear

to us that their most urgent need would be for those improvements which capital, and that only, can supply. They must have, first of all, comfortable houses, school-houses, and church-es. To supply sawed lumber for these, they must have saw-mills. They must also have hotels, bridges, grist-mills, and other conveniences, to secure which their own capital was necessarily inadequate. We at once, therefore, con-nected with our undertakings for the assistance of emigrants on the way, such investment of first wants of the new settlements. Our intelligence from the Territory shows us that we judged rightly; and, with the ds ly increase of our capital, we continue our it vestments in this way. They are expenditure of advantage

that it is directly for our interest that the emi-grants to Kansas should be actual settlers. We advise none others to go there, and we encourage all to stay. We try to make their condition there as comfortable as we can. When a homesick boy comes back to say that the land is barren and worthless, it is quite as much a matter of regret to us as it can possibly be to you. We join you heart and hand in the wish that Kansas may never see any settlers but bona fide settlers. We have done such to induce all who go to remain. With our increased facilities for promoting their comfort, we shall be

go to Kansas, and we aid them by all the means in our power.

We are perfectly willing, however, what you must already be aware of, that when we organized ourselves to extend such facilities to the would be men who meant to live in a free State. They are men who live by hard work, as we all do; and they would not go anywhere where State would make hard work disgraceful. They knew that, by the principles of the Kansas-Ne-braska act, the actual settlers must control the institutions of Kansas and Nebraska. They were willing to take the chances of an appeal We have never thought of marching men

into Kansas for an election, and then bringing them home again. We have never seized upon Indian lands against law and right. If we cared to recriminate, we might say that certain associations have committed these outrages; but all the world knows that it was not the New and daughnbers to be
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We were almost as confident when we began, as we are certain now, that under this principle the actual settlers of Kansas will make its laws such as shall prohibit Slavery in that Territory. the soil and climate of Kansas, and the advan-tages which it offers to the settler, turned the attention of thousands of such emigrants to that interfere with you. They have interfered with no man's rights, nor will they long allow any

man to interfere with theirs. We trust that this simple statement will satisfy all good citizens of Missouri, that they have been deceived in regard to the plan and purposes of our company. We have done nothing to encroach upon you or yours. We have done nothing that friendly brothers of the same great nation should not do. We claim no rights in sas, that we have felt called upon to notice them at all, and we write this friendly address to you, and claim your candid attention to it. that you may be no longer misled as to the peaceful and legitimate purposes of the New England settlers in that Territory. They are a people who know their rights, and are resolved to maintain them. But they respect also the rights of others, and will make no "aggres sions" upon neighboring States.

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